1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

sion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1).

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours.

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections.

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mürke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *cheikan* if salted, and *ulpad* or *ullpad* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remulko/ke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*zwinko/ke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior.

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

I: Titiev E-3 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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It is the premarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Women's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.[1]

Further proof that the Araucanians themselves recognize how difficult a strain uxilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of premarital oratory and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlyweds. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorces, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occur. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price restored to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much unpleasantness that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer suicide to any other arrangement.[2] The rarity of divorce is also correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied husband may take another mate without the need of divorcing his previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

[1] Titiev, 1949, p. 16.
[2] Cf. Hunter, 1936, p. 240.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG: Araucanians SG4

584 of the girl. Her consent was usually, but apparently not always, sought. The bride-price consisted of llamas, mantles, shirts, adornments (llankas), food, chicha, and, later, chickens, cattle, horses, bridles, spurs, and other valuables. From 10 to 100 such items might be demanded, although it was not always required to pay all at once. The relatives and friends of the groom would contribute toward the bride-price if he could not get it together unaided, which put him under a debt of honor to reciprocate when later they should need his contributions. The bride-price was turned over primarily to the girl's father or other elder relative, some of it directly to her mother. Much of it was distributed to her paternal and maternal uncles, her brothers, and other kin, and much of it consumed at the marriage feast, to which her father and kin also contributed large quantities of chicha.

583 Dramatized capture of the bride, or simulated reluctance and resistance on the part of her and her female relatives and friends, very commonly accompanied marriage, and followed various patterns. The consent of the girl's father or parents having been obtained, the groom with some male relatives or friends would seize the girl at her father's house or elsewhere; she would scream and struggle; her women relatives and friends or her parents and brothers would put up a simulated but rough-and-tumble resistance; the girl would be carried away by the groom on horseback to his house or to the woods near thereto; after 1 to 3 days, he with the girl and his companions would go to her house where her mother would give them a meal. Then, or a short time after, the bride-price was given over and the wedding feast celebrated.

Apart from simulated capture with the father's consent and with or without the previous consent of the girl or against her wishes, and apart from marriages with women captured or stolen from out-group or enemy tribes, some instances of in-group real capture and forcible detention against both the girl's and her parent's wishes may have occurred. (Cf. Claude Joseph, 1933-34, pp. 707-08.) But generally the father's consent was obtained post factum and the bride-price given over to him. In very rare cases, if the seized girl was unwilling [762] at all to live with her simulative (or real) captor, she hanged herself (Moesbach, 1936, p. 241). Some elopements, too, occurred, with the consent of the girl but without that of her parents. As a rule, after capture or elopement, if the father absolutely refused post factum consent, his daughter was returned to him (Havestadt, 1883, 2:639).

585 The wedding rites and observances consisted mainly of the transfer and distribution of the bride-price, of the rendering of specially composed ballads, of a sacrifice of a llama or other animal, of singing, dancing, feasting, and, of course, very liberal imbibing of chicha or

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Hosse (1939, p. 249).

843 866 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Guinda, 1916–17, pp. 208–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

[362 304]

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–66). Stories with a moral were used to educate children (Hosse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Guinde, 1936, p. 855).

[276]

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

762

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Suicide was committed by hanging. It was not infrequently committed by a woman grieving over an irremovable cause, especially a married woman who found herself in an unbearable situation, such as having to live in a forced marriage to which she would not or could not adjust, or because she was being beaten at every slight provocation by a husband with an uncontrolled temper. "In my 50 years among the Mapuche," said a non-Araucanian missionary, "25 instances have come to my knowledge in which a woman hung herself; the most recent one occurred two years ago [1945]. When a man returns home and does not find his wife there, or finds that she has left no word for him, he knows that she has hung herself. A woman usually finds a most isolated and unfrequented place to do so. She selects an elevated place on which to stand, ties her belt about her neck, ties the other end of the belt to a branch of the tree which she has bent down, and then releases the branch. She then dangles in midair and dies. People help the man search for her. If they do not find her, they wait until they see large numbers of jote [Chilean vultures] flying about in one place. Jotes gather where there is dead meat. They know then that her body can be found there."

A man is known to commit suicide when rejected by his sons—almost without exception a son is submissive and deeply respectful toward his father all his lifetime. A non-Araucanian teacher told of a suicide of a father: "This happened a few years ago—it is the only instance of suicide in this area in the past 10 years. It was generally known that the man and his wife quarreled and that the older sons sided with the mother. During a quarrel one of the sons injured his father with a hoe. The father took a lasso and left the ruka. Later he was found dead, hanging from a tree not far from the ruka. Every Mapuche tried to hush the affair for fear the Chilean police would exhume the body to ascertain whether the death had been due to violence by another—a thing for which persons are imprisoned. The father, however, took revenge, it was said. Periodically, over a long period of time, he came back to his ruka. No one ever saw him, but he slammed the door when he entered, howled about the place, and sometimes caused the fire to flare up. The young children were afraid to be in the ruka; even the older sons did not wish to be in it alone."

Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. "Very old people have told that in very early times it sometimes happened that our people did not have enough to eat and that from sheer hunger a few lost their minds; such persons sometimes ate the meat off other Mapuche who had died. But at no other time did Mapuche eat humans."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows less. How can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy."

Quarreling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is today; in the early days persons were given specific training as children in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, quarrelsome, "like too many young people today are. Instead of quarreling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when he marries."

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institutional (cf. p. 348). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not know many poisons. The only one I know is fanapue; it is made from the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our own people; but an enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture.

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person present would take offense, since his words would not be directed toward anyone in particular, a 51-year-old man gave the following as samples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say, or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]," and, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke badly about me," and, "You have a wekufü [equivalent of devil] in you. And now you want to do me harm." A 59-year-old woman would not give samples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly, she noted. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly indeed; they are about sex. A man says them to a woman, and a woman can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Occasionally suicide was, and still is, committed. The woman hangs herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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762 [intestines] on the right side of his body," and more often, in recent years, uses a revolver. The chief reason for suicide is "feeling sad about a thing." In two instances insanity was given as the cause. An informant in his eighties told of a suicide that had just happened: "When I arrived home last evening, a young man, only 25 years old, had cut his throat. He was still lying near my yard [the Argentine law forbids the removal of such a body until the police have given permission to do so]. The people are saying that this man committed suicide because he had a heavy and sad heart—his mother, who was a widow, died in disgrace recently. Although she had sons and daughters with whom she might have lived, she gave herself up to other men. If one of the man's [suicide's] sisters had been sad, she would have hung herself; one of my women relatives did that. This relative of mine loved someone, but her parents would not allow her to marry him and this saddened her. She fastened one end of a rope about her neck and tied the other to a branch of a tree that hung over a cliff—any projection would have done. She let go of the rope, and there she hung in mid-air."

While I was in the area a young woman hung herself because her father refused to let her work in San Martin de los Andes. The following morning, a schoolboy, while looking for a horse on which to ride to school, found her hanging from a tree.

An 80-year-old informant told of a suicide committed by a woman who was intermittently insane. "The woman went to her daughter-in-law's house to see why the daughter-in-law's small child was crying. She found the daughter-in-law hanging from the rafters by a rope and the child hanging onto its mother's feet. The mother-in-law could not look at the woman; she grabbed the child and ran out of the house."

LYING, THEFT, INTOXICATION

577 Persons seldom lied. Liars were not respected. "It is the same today," said a man in his eighties. Old informants remarked that young men tell lies at home about food, "the way in which they got the food that they bring home from estancias, especially animals. We eat the food, but no one compliments the young man for having provided it." A non-Araucanian, who was born and reared among the Araucanians and who employed a large number of them on his estancia, noted, "An Araucanian cannot lie and get away with it. You can see it in his face and in his actions the minute he tells a lie."

674 Stealing today is usually done from Argentines; seldom is anything stolen from an Araucanian. Things stolen are usually sheep.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

835 of terminal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not reviled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

836 The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide.
754 Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of roasting an infant's
762 testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made sterile. Unwed
[848] mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal
[849] their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby—which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it—to a witch who performs *koftun*.
[848] If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.